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FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1919

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

Suffragist: "Now, Governors, All together—
R-A-T-I-F-Y!

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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Notes of the Week

World Congress of Working Womer. Is Called by National Women's Trade Union League of America

THE call to the first world congress of working women was issued yesterday from the National Women's Trade Union League of America to the women of thirty-four countries, whose representatives are to meet in Washington the week preceding the International Labor Congress called by the League of Nations. The cablegrams, sent from Washington, are signed by Miss Mary Anderson, newly appointed director of the Woman's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, who is secretary of the Women's Trade Union League Committee on International Relations, which has charge of the arrangement for the congress.

As the date for the International Labor Conference, called by President Wilson, has been set for October 29, the women's congress will convene about October 23. Each country represented in the latter congress will be entitled to ten women delegates and ten votes, and all delegates must bring credentials signed by accredited trade union organizations. This will mean that for the first time in the history of the world the elected representatives of the organized working women of all countries will have opportunity to discuss the problems of the workers. In this manner they will endeavor to bring their influence to bear upon the determinations of the International Labor Conference of the Allied Governments in which, under the terms of the labor charter of the League of Nations, no direct voice or representation is provided for women.

The cablegrams are addressed to the labor organizations of the following countries: Great Britain, France, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal, Roumania, Serbia, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Canada, Canal Zone, Porto Rico, Paraguay, Chili, Argentina, Uraguay, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Honduras, Nicaragua, Republic of Salvador, Venezuela, South Africa, New Zealand, New South Wales, Victoria, and Japan.

Supplementing the cables, a formal call, signed by the President of the National Women's Trade Union League, Mrs. Raymond Robins, and the national secretary-treasurer Miss Emma Steghagen, has been mailed to the labor organizations of each of the 34 countries. The call urges the delegates to prepare and bring to the Womens' Congress material concerning the agenda of the International Labor Conference, especially bearing on conditions of women's employment, the employment of children, application of the principle of the eight-hour day, 48 hour week, provision against unemployment, the prohibition of the use of white phosphorous in the manufacture of matches, and all the various aspects of these questions as set forth in the agenda.

The purpose of the congress is stated in the call as follows:

"Whereas, the League of Nations calls for an International Labor Congress to be summoned by the President of the United States of America, and,

"Whereas, items on the agenda intimately concern working women, and further,

"Since women must now assume responsibilities in the affairs of the world, we urgently hope you will be represented at this congress. The call voices the belief that women must at this time assume their responsibilities and that fellowship and conference together can alone guarantee mutual faith and joint action which shall make for universal industrial justice."

The plans for this first international congress of working women were first projected in conferences between Miss Mary Anderson and Miss Rose Schneiderman, representing the National Women's Trade Union League of America at Paris during the Peace negotiations, and the women trade unionists of great Britain and France. The British women trade unionists, through their Standing Joint Committee on Industrial Organizations, asked the National Women's Trade Union League of America to be the hostess organization in the United States, and their proposal was adopted by vote of the seventh biennial convention of the League held in Philadelphia June 2 to 7 of the present summer. The headquarters of the Committee in charge of the arrangements are in the office of the Washington Committee of the National Women's Trade Union League, at 1423 New York Avenue, N. W.

German Women's Political Equality Becomes Official

NEWS dispatches from Berlin confirm the fact of "votes for German women." The new German constitution which was passed by the National Assembly after months of debate and which has just become effective provides for this under the second of its two main parts—"the basic rights and basic duties of Germans." The statement is that all Germans shall be equal before the law and that men and women shall have basically the same rights and duties.

In the provisions for the legislative rights of the individual states, which occurs in the first main part of the instrument, the central law dictates that each state must have a liberal constitution in harmony with that of the national constitution, and with a legislature selected by "general, equal and secret ballot by all Germans, men and women."

Church to Omit "Obey" in Marriages

AMONG the twenty so-called radical changes which are proposed for the Episcopal Book of Common Prayer in the report of the Committee on revision, is one which has to do with the marriage service.

This is the decision to recommend the elimination of the word "obey" from the ceremony. It appears that this decision is in deference to protests that have been growing and accumulating through many years past. It is said that many Episcopal clergymen have refused to use the term, and that they have the moral support of ministers of other communions, who hold that the retention of the word "obey" is a survival of the days when wives were regarded as chattels.

Women's Minimums in England

IN England before the armistice, the rights of women in industry were the source of much controversy. In order to avert strikes, on the part of women workers, the government had made many promises of equal pay and conditions, which were not fully carried out. The grievances of the women workers against the government having reached a climax, the War Cabinet appointed a committee to look into the relations which should exist between men and women workers. The committee has issued two reports, a Majority report, and a Minority report. The Majority report, in general, upholds the government in its actions, and is willing to make discriminations between the sexes. It proposes a minimum wage, applicable to women workers only, and based on the cost of subsistence of a woman without dependents. The Minority report, on the other hand, consistently holds that discriminations between the sexes should not exist in industry. The Minority proposes a national minimum wage. Any question of minimum wage involves the question of provision for dependents. The view usually put forward is that a man needs a higher wage for the reason that he has dependents, whereas women workers are commonly supposed to have none. But investigations in England have shown that a large proportion of men workers have no dependents, and a large body of women workers have dependents. Among women answering a questionnaire recently sent out by the Federal Employes Union, seventy per cent were found to have dependents. These facts are relevant to the question of a national minimum wage.

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by legislatures of three-fourths of the several states:

"ARTICLE.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

By Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee
In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
1919, Unanimously favorably.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
1918, Favorable majority.
1919, Favorable majority.

Voted Upon
In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
October 1, 1918, yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 ot the two-thirds vote.
February 10, 1919, yeas 55, nays 29, failing by one of the necessary two-thirds vote.
June 4, 1919, yeas 56, nays 25, passing by 2 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by one vote over necessary two-thirds majority.
May 21, 1919. Yeas 304, nays 89, passing by 42 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

RATIFICATION BY STATES

1 Wisconsin, June 10, 1919
House Vote 54 to 2
Senate Vote 24 to 1
2 Michigan, June 10, 1919
Both Houses Unanimous
3 Kansas, June 16, 1919
Both Houses Unanimous
4 Ohio, June 16, 1919
House Vote 73 to 6
Senate Vote 27 to 3
5 New York, June 6, 1919
Both Houses Unanimous
6 Illinois, June 17, 1919
House vote 133 to 4
Senate Vote unanimous
7 Pennsylvania, June 24, 1919
House Vote 153 to 44
Senate Vote 32 to 6
8 Massachusetts, June 25, 1919
House Vote 185 to 47
Senate Vote 34 to 5
9 Texas, June 28, 1919
House Vote 96 to 21
Senate Vote Unanimous
10 Iowa, July 2, 1919
House Vote 95 to 5
Senate Vote Unanimous
11 Missouri, July 3, 1919
House Vote 125 to 4
Senate Vote 28 to 3
12 Arkansas, July 29, 1919
House Vote 76 to 17
Senate Vote 29 to 2
13 Montana, July 30, 1919
House Vote Unanimous
Senate Vote 38 to 1
14 Nebraska, August 2, 1919
Unanimous Joint Resolution of both Houses

The Suffragist

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The Cost of Special Sessions

ONE of the supposedly overwhelming objections urged against the calling of special sessions for suffrage ratification is the cost to the states. That this is not an overwhelming objection, nor a very terrifying obstacle, but rather a largely imaginary bugaboo invoked by the opponents of early ratification, is easily discernible when one looks over the figures and attendant circumstances.

In the first place, in many of the states where a campaign for a special session has been waged the legislators themselves have offered to attend the session at their own expense—waiving either their per diem or mileage, or both, as in Oregon and elsewhere. In other cases public-spirited citizens or associations have offered to bear all or part of the expense of the session, as was true in Rhode Island, for example.

In the second pace, there is no necessity for the cost to climb into multiplied thousands, even if the state does have the expense to bear. In most states one day's duration of the legislature is all that is necessary for the passage of the ratification resolution. Kansas did it in one day. New York did it in a few hours. And that is all that suffragists are asking—the passing of a ratification resolution. If the business be dispatched in one day, then, or even in a few days, this reduces the per diem expense to a minimum.

TAKE, for instance, the State of Delaware. It is argued that a special session there would cost over $12,000.00. In Delaware there are only fifty-two members altogether, thirty-five in the House and seventeen in the Senate. Their perdiem is fixed at $5.00 for members and $6.00 for presiding officers. That makes $262.00 for the compensation of the legislators for the one day necessary to do the work for suffrage. The amount necessary for hiring clerks and pages for the one day would be very slight. Mileage in so small a state as Delaware and for fifty-two members would certainly not be such a vast sum as to be the one factor which would place a special session outside the realms of possibility.

This illustrates, in one case, the fallacy of the prohibitive cost of special sessions. Weighed against the need for the immediate national enfranchisement of women, what are these modest sums, the equivalent of any one of which has been wasted many times over by mere governmental machinery? What sovereign state can cite them as too great a price for the political freedom of American women? And let it be remembered that of that cost, whatever it is, women themselves will be paying their part.

Schedule of Legislative Sessions

States in Session This Month

Alabama—(Where Senate voted 19 to 13 against ratification, but where reconsideration may take place.)

Virginia—(Convened August 13, in special session for good roads and other questions.)

States Called in Special Session For Next Month

Minnesota—(Session called for September 8, for suffrage and other matters.)

New Hampshire—(Session called for September 9, for suffrage.)

Utah—(Session called for September 29.)

States Which Meet in Regular Session in 1920

* Ratified.

† Special Session.

Georgia	June
Kentucky	January
Louisiana	January
*Massachusetts	January
Mississippi	January
New Jersey	January
†*New York	January
Rhode Island	January
South Carolina	January
Virginia	January

States Which Do Not Meet in Regular Session Until 1921

Arizona	January
†*Arkansas	January
California	January
Colorado	January
Connecticut	January
Delaware	January
Florida	April
Idaho	January
*Illinois	January
Indiana	January
†*Iowa	January
†*Kansas	January
Maine	January
*Michigan	January
†Minnesota	January
†*Missouri	January
†*Montana	January
†*Nebraska	January
Nevada	January
†New Hampshire	January
New Mexcio	January
North Carolina	January
North Dakota	January
*Ohio	January
Oklahoma	January
Oregon	January
*Pennsylvania	January
South Dakota	aJnuary
Tennessee	January
*Texas	January
†Utah	January
Vermont	January
Washington	January
West Virginia	January
*Wisconsin	January
Wyoming	January

Pressure for Ratification

AS this issue goes to press news of the results at the Governors Conference at Salt Lake City has not yet come in. A full account will be given in next week's Suffragist. Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, of Washington, D. C., Political Chairman of the National Woman's Party, and Mrs. Louise Garnett of Salt Lake City, State Chairman of the Woman's Party for Utah, were on the ground during the conference, and although they were not given permission to address the Governors when assembled in session, they have done good work "out of hours."

THE State Democratic Committee of Alabama met on August 21, according to schedule, to consider the question of ratification of the suffrage amendment. A resolution was passed endorsing the action taken by the National Democratic Committee as set forth in their resolution of last May, and pledging support in every proper way. Although the resolution made no mention of a specific recommendation to the state legislature, it is to be hoped that this will be their intended course of giving "proper support," since in no other way can any support be effective.

President Wilson Asks Action in Virginia

"August 22, 1919.

"President of the Senate,

"Richmond, Virginia.

"May I not take the liberty of expressing my profound interest in the action which the legislature of my native state is to take in the matter of the suffrage amendment to the United States Constitution. It seems to me of profound importance to our country that this amendment should be adopted, and I venture to urge the adoption upon the legislature. With the utmost respect and with the greatest earnestness;

"Woodrow Wilson."

Chairman Cummings, of the National Democratic Committee, also communicated with the leader of the House, urging that it is a matter of vital interest to the Party.

THE following telegram has been addressed to Mr. Rohrer James, Chairman of the State Democratic Committee of Virginia, from Mr. Scott Ferris, of Washington, Chairman of the National Democratic Congressional Committee:

"As chairman of the Democratic Congressional Committee I want to appeal to you in most earnest fashion to use your very great influence to allow suffrage be ratified by Virginia legislature.

"Both next national conventions will declare for it most earnestly. President Wilson has plead for it on every hand. Congress has already through both branches by two-thirds majority adopted the constitutional amendment. It would be of tremendous help for Virginia to act favorably now. Our information is with your help it can be agreed to. Without we are left in doubt."

National Headquart

Looking from Entrance Hall Through Recept on and Ball Rooms

IT is not only as a busy hive of offices that the National Headquarters at Washington is useful or of note. It is well known in Washington and elsewhere as a commodious and hospitable club-house for women, as a comfortable spot where one may meet friends, lunch, dine, lounge or be useful, read or work. The Tea-Room especially is a well-known institution—an attractive, semi-basement room, cheerful wtih yellow walls and bright with yellow lanterns, to which the public is admitted, and which presented much the appearance of an army encampment from the surrounding Government departments during the war. It has a distinctive and delightful atmosphere quite its own and is deservedly famed for its good home-cooking. A few steps takes one up into the big living hall where guests often remain to visit together or to read the papers and magazines at the library table.

This great, high-ceiling room which was the ball-room of the mansion in its earlier days, now serves as the auditorium with a large seating capacity when public meetings or Party conventions are held at Headquarters; or as the banquet hall on occasions; or as the ball room when any suffrage entertainment is in progress. Fitted out in its every-day garb—lovely with the old heirloom furniture so graciously loaned by Mrs. George Pflaster of Virginia—with comfortable chairs, lounges, tables, and a piano, it is the living room and meeting room of all occasions. In winter it is charming with a roaring fire in the great fire-place at one end and another in the smaller reception room through wide double doors at the other. This smaller reception room, where teas are often served by the District of Columbia Branch whose office adjoins, opens in its turn upon the front hallway and Miss Paul's office. The windows of these latter named, look out upon the lovely old Park which is Lafayette Square. All these rooms are the first flight up.

The Front Stair-Hall

IN the Fall and winter of 1918 evening meetings were held every Thursday in the Assembly room—such as the Thanksgiving Night meeting for Mrs. Harvey Wiley. And for these occasions the big ball-room became an auditorium, with a platform at one end for the speaker, and with rows of chairs the length of it. This Spring the District of Columbia Branch has held a series of teas

As a Club House

and afternoon meetings for various well-known persons—such, for instance, as the tea for Mrs. Champ Clark, at which she spoke on the need for women to "stand together"; and the tea for Mary Shaw, the well known actress and feminist. Miss Shaw spoke most interestingly to a packed hall upon the psychology of the militant, as revealed in the drama, and upon woman's responsibility to the theatre as a social institution.

These rooms were the scene of the convention sessions when the National Advisory Council met at National Headquarters last December, and the evening receptions and the banquet were also held there. At times the ball-room reverts to its original intent and becomes the scene of a dance. At all times it is the gathering place and meeting place of all people in Washington who are interested in the woman movement.

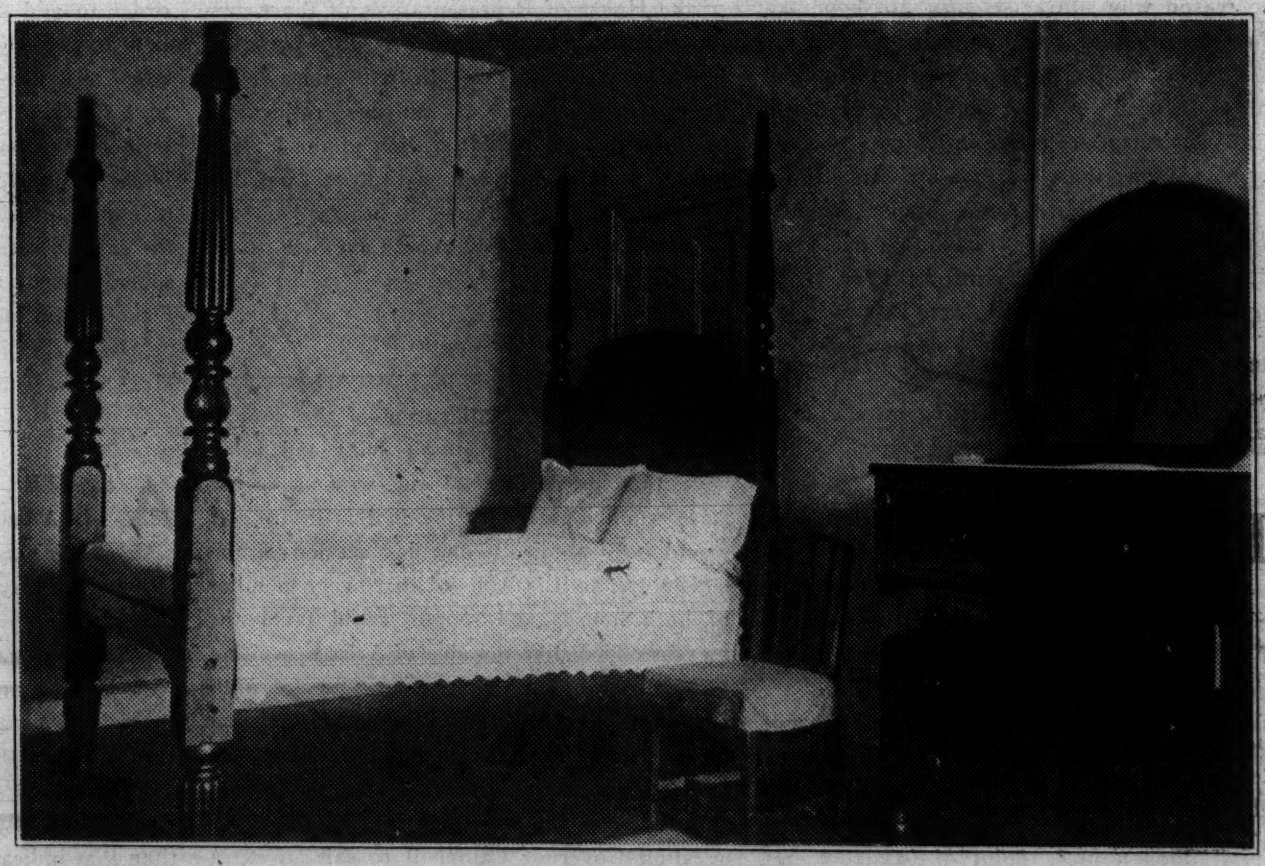
Another View of Assembly Hall

THE library being started in the Literature room is for general use and reference—it being a collection of books mainly on suffrage questions, women in industry, woman's part in the new civilization the world over, and on all the many and various problems of interest to or in any way affecting women. Any additions to this collection are at any time most happily welcomed. Practically all the suffrage magazines of this country or England, as well as other magazines of more general interest, are kept on file here, and the current numbers available upon the reading table in the living room.

THE next two floors are given over to bed rooms which house the resident heads of the National Departments. On the third floor are seven bed-rooms and on the fourth floor ten. There are two bath-rooms on each floor.

These rooms accommodate the many transient women members who come and go through Washington or are here for brief stays, and in the days before suffrage was won, they used to be full and overflowing during the periods of demonstrations and conventions, with extra cots set up everywhere.

Many distinguished people have stayed at Headquarters at various times. Practically all the state chairmen and members of suffrage committees from the various states have been here for conferences or to do lobby work on Congress, as well as newspaper women and authors getting material for suffrage stories.



One of the Old Four-Posters

Utah Calls a Special Session

GOVERNOR Bamberger, of Utah, has just issued a call for a special session in Utah to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The date is set for September 29, at which time the legislature is counted on to ratify at once. Utah is a suffrage state, and, moreover, a poll of the legislature compiled by the legislative office of the Woman's Party shows a majority in favor of ratification.

This call comes after great activity among the United States Representatives from Utah in Washington, and after repeated telegrams and letters were sent to the Governor from these men. Hon. H. M. Welling, and Hon. James C. Mays, have both been very urgent in their demands upon the Governor for the session, as has been before stated in the Suffragist. The latest message from Mr. Welling to the Governor on August 23, undoubtedly bore fruit. The telegram is here quoted:

"Governor Simon Bamberger,

"Salt Lake City, Utah.

"Can you announce date of special session of legislature to ratify woman suffrage amendment. Understand session will be held some time in October. Think earlier announcement would help us.

"M. H. Welling."

Senator Smoot some time ago wrote a very strong letter to the Governor recommending an early session, and his letter, which was quoted in The Suffragist at the time, was carried in all the Republican newspapers of the state, and exercised a strong influence upon the Republican contingent.

ANOTHER factor in the success of the campaign was, of course, the work of Mrs. Louise Garnett, Utah Chairman, and her assistants and co-workers. She has led the fight most ably from her position within the state, and has been materially assisted by the efforts of her state's national representatives in Washington. The presence of Mrs. Abby Scott Baker in Salt Lake City at the time of the Governor's Conference was also a decided factor in the early announcement for among the Governors undoubtedly stimulated the Utah Governor to action. It is hoped that his prompt calling of the session may have effect upon the other Governors who are still vacillating in their decisions.

State Notes

IN Richmond, where the Virginia legislature is now sitting in special session, women interested in ratification are still working hard to have suffrage put on the calendar before the session, called primarily for good roads, is ended. Miss Mabel Vernon, who has returned from Richmond, after being present at the opening of the legislature, says there is no reason why suffragists may not hope that the ratification issue will be included.

Members of the Virginia Ratification Committee, headed by Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith, State Chairman, are active in lobbying for suffrage. Among these workers are Mrs. Robert F. Hudson and Miss Annie Louise Stephenson, of Richmond; Mrs. Pauline Adams and Mrs. Anne Marnix, of Norfolk; Miss H. E. Brennan, of Fairfax; and Mrs. Dexter Otey, of Lynchburg. Miss Anita Pollitzer and Miss Betty Gram, National Organizers of the Woman's Party, are still assisting in the campaign.

THE Oregon Ratification Committee is redoubling its efforts on behalf of the special session which Governor Olcott has refused to call, notwithstanding the majority of legislators have written to him in agreement with his stipulations. They are asking those members whose letters did not conform in phraseology to the Governor's ideas of a "demand" to write again to His Excellency in stronger terms. The Governor's refusal upon a mere point of formality has roused such widespread publicity in the state and elsewhere that suffragists there feel even stronger grounds for their hope and determination to succeed in the campaign for a special session there yet.

MRS. Nellie Hayward, recently elected Chairman of the Arizona Branch of the National Woman's Party, and a member of the House of Representatives of the Arizona legislature, announced to the press of Douglas, Arizona, that she will endeavor to have the question of suffrage ratification brought up at a special session of the legislature this Fall. She will institute a campaign to bring sufficient influence to bear to have the session called by Governor Campbell at an early date.

Mrs. Hayward told the press:

"I am very anxious to have Arizona join other states in the ratification of the woman suffrage amendment without delay and I believe that practically all the women in the state would agree with me in this desire It would only require a one day session of the legislature, as it is believed that every member of both house and senate would favor the measure. I dislike the idea of Arizona waiting to take action on this popular measure until practically all other states have acted. Arizona was a leader for suffrage and I desire to see the state act promptly now. I hope the friends of suffrage in the state will join hands in requesting Governor Campbell to call an extra session to ratify the Susan B. Anthony amendment."

BEFORE her departure from North Dakota, Miss Ella Riegel learned from Governor Frazier that he may advance the date for the special session which he planned to call in late October for various issues, in order to add the official O. K. of North Dakota to the federal suffrage amendment before late Fall. The call cannot be issued for August or early September, he insists, because farmer members of the legislature would be unable to leave their crops, but he adds that it is quite possible that he may decide to make the call for late September instead of late October, thereby advancing ratification in North Dakota by a month.

Miss Riegel is now in St. Paul, the guest of Mrs. A. R. Colvin, state chairman for Minnesota.

A LETTER from Mrs. Fannie S. Barnes, of Albuquerque, New Mexico, Vice-Chairman of the State Branch of the Woman's Party, has the following interesting paragraph:

"We have made a poll of the legislature of New Mexico, and it is favorable. I understand there is to be a special session of the legislature called in the Fall, probably November."

Efforts will be made to induce Governor Larrzola to issue the call for an earlier date than that indicated.

Woman Suffrage Marches On

By Richard Boeckel Reprinted From The Independent, August 9, 1919

WASHINGTON remembers March 3, 1913, as the day its suffrage education was begun. That was the day of the grand suffrage parade that ended in a riot and kept the country buzzing for a month. Washington proved an unruly scholar.

But if there were another suffrage parade in Washington tomorrow there would be no riot —unless it were of Senators and Representatives fighting to get in line. Nothing less than machine guns ahead could prevent their marching.

Congress has learned its suffrage lesson. The President has learned his suffrage lesson. And the women, while teaching the two, gained much valuable knowledge themselves.

They learned the moves in the game of national politics and much about governmental methods that is not in the textbooks. They searched out the concealed levers and manipulated them with the final result that the congressional machinery turned out the product they wanted.

They are using their knowledge now to get quick action on the amendment by the states so that all American women may vote in the presidential election of 1920. One month after the Senate passed the amendment eleven states had ratified, and Arkansas made the twelfth on July 28. The National Woman's Party already has taken the polls and has the pledges of majorities in twenty-three other legislatures. Only one more legislature needs to be pledged to make ultimate ratification certain.

THERE is this serious obstacle to complete ratification before the presidential campaign: Many of the legislatures favorable to suffrage do not meet in regular session before November, 1920. The answer is special sessions. The way the radical wing of the suffrage forces is going about securing special sessions to ratify, in the face of opposition, in some instances from the women of the states who consider the effort hopeless, is characteristic of the methods they have followed in Washington.

They are appealing to governors by letter and telegram and holding demonstrations in state capitals, but, while they make these direct and obvious efforts, they are not neglecting the mainsprings of political action with which they have grown familiar in the last six strenuous years.

There is every evidence that they are continuing to play off adroitly one political party against the other. They are pointing out that the record of neither on this suffrage issue is one to boast of. To Republican leaders they say: "It is true that suffrage was put through by a Republican Congress, but women feel that it could have been put through last session, if you had not been so keen for party advantage. If you really want to get credit you must see that Republican states ratify immediately." And to Democratic politicians they say: "The women know your record on suffrage. It will cost you votes. Unless you see that Democratic legislatures do not obstruct the amendment, the Republicans will get all the credit. Seven out of the eleven legislatures that have ratified are Republican."

HERE are some of the results:

Immediately upon his return to Washington President Wilson wired Governor Kilby, of Alabama, and the speaker of the House that he hoped the amendment would be ratified by the great state of Alabama.

"It would constitute a happy augury for the future and add greatly to the strength of a movement which, in my judgment, is based upon the highest consideration, both of justice and expediency."

Homer S. Cummings, chairman of the National Democratic Executive Committee, spoke more plainly to the president of the Alabama Senate.

"Quite apart from any question of essential justice," he wired, "it is highly desirable from a party standpoint that our friends be in harmony with the attitude of the national party on this subject and that we should present everywhere a united front. I hope no attempt will be made to avoid the issue by referendum or otherwise."

Attorney-General Palmer busied himself with the Governor of Maryland and Secretary Daniels took on North Carolina. When Alabama showed signs of getting out of line, Secretary Daniels turned in and wrote the chairman of the Alabama Ratification committee:

"The South has nothing to fear from the amendment, but it would be a loss to Southern chivalry and Southern prestige if our section of the country halted this great reform."

Republican leaders were equally active. Massachusetts, the home state of Senator Lodge, was among the first to ratify. Mr. Smoot exerted himself to get Utah in line. And Boies Penrose, super-anti, aided and abetted ratification at Harrisburg! He was given full credit by Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, chairman of the ratification committee, for the victory in Pennsylvania.

All this goes to prove that women have removed suffrage from the realm of personal prejudice to that of party politics. To do this they have had to learn a lot, not only about the inside of jails and workhouses, but also about the inside of the government of the United States.

The policy of the radicals on ratification is entirely consistent with their policy prior to the adoption of the amendment—a policy that developed as a direct reaction to conditions as they saw them.

EVERY one knows the history of the suffrage war. It was designed to convince the country that the President, himself, was the center of opposition to the constitutional amendment. It was designed to focus attention upon him, and by making his position untenable to compel him to move for the approval of the amendment by Congress. In the suffrage war 214 pickets were arrested and sentenced to terms ranging from three days to seven months.

On June 9, 1918, the President came out with his first public statement in support of the Federal amendment. On January 10, one year after the picketing of the White House was begun, the House passed the suffrage amendment, and the militants proclaimed the vindication of their policy.

However, the amendment had still to pass the Senate, so there was no relaxation in the militant pressure against the President. On September 29 the President went before the Senate and urged the passage of suffrage as a war measure. The Senate defeated the amendment and thereby rejected the first piece of legislation called for by the President as a war measure, the following day. The militants, however, were not convinced that their theory was fallacy. If the President was sincere, they said, and were not merely trying to escape responsibility, he would have used the same iron-handed methods he had employed on other occasions to compel support for his measures by Democratic Senators. The burning of all the President's speeches on democracy was begun by the militants.

It is notable, suffragists say, that, while the Republicans claim full credit for the passage of the amendment this session, the vote that made passage certain was that of Senator Harris, of Georgia, a Democrat. The announcement that Senator Harris would vote for suffrage came from France while President Wilson was at the Paris White House.

Whether the women always used the political knowledge they gained in Washington to the best advantage is difficult to judge—at any rate, they got what they were after. The important question now is, how they will use this knowledge in the future.

It is certainly not a question of women going into politics when they get the vote. They have been in politics for six years. Their opinions now are being given weight by politicians planning next year's campaign.

The Maryland Situation in Review

By Mary Dubrow, National Organizer

SENATOR Smith, the Democratic senator from Maryland, voted against the Federal Suffrage Amendment when his one vote could have passed the measure. By this failure the opportunity to present the amendment to 42 states for ratification was lost. It is therefore little enough to ask the Democratic Party of Maryland and the Democratic Governor to call a special session for the ratification now. If the Democratic Party had seen fit to take action in the preceding session of Congress the amendment would have been ratified without the necessity of one single special session.

The demand for a special session began as soon as the amendment was passed. A large group of women, headed by Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, began a rapid canvass of all the members of the legislators.

In all the counties the women showed the greatest interest in this issue. Letters and telegrams were dispatched to the governor. Delegations were formed in various counties, to call on the governor. In Ocean City a delegation awaited the governor and when he did not return there from the Bridge celebration a telegram demanding a special session was sent to him.

With utmost speed the poll was completed and showed and now shows a safe majority. With great enthusiasm it was taken to the governor and he admitted it satisfactory. But he took no action.

The aid of prominent business men was then secured. Prominent lawyers, doctors, merchants and politicians wrote to the governor. Many members of the legislature wrote to him. Women from every part of the state asked for immediate action. Labor unions also took up the call.

THE Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Baltimore have sent the following resolution to Governor Harrington, a copy of which was addressed to the Just Government League, the Maryland Branch of the Woman's Party:

Whereas, the women in all other English speaking countries are enfranchised; and

Whereas, the women in Russia, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Poland and all the newly created small nations are enfranchised; and

Whereas, the women of the United States will become enfranchised as soon as the necessary thirty-six states ratify the federal suffrage amendment passed by both houses of Congress, therefore, be it

Resolved, that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers urge Governor Harrington to call at once a special session of the Maryland legislature for the purpose of ratifying the federal suffrage amendment.

(Signed) Hyman Blumberg,
Manager A. C. W.

The women of Maryland still hope that the Governor will respond to all these demands from all sides for a special session. The legislature stands ready to vote favorably tomorrow. All that is needed now is that the governor realize his responsibility and that he will do this for the women of Maryland. As soon as he does the fight in Maryland for victory will be successfully over.

The Book Page

A Woman of Action
The Real Florence Nightingale

"Eminent Victorians," by Lytton Strachey. New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

MR. Lytton Strachey enjoyed writing "Eminent Victorians," even though he may have torn his hair in collecting his facts, and worn himself to a frazzle in re-creating for us these striking personalities of the Victorian Age. When he exercised his almost uncanny gifts of insight into their greatnesses and their weaknesses, observant, sympathetic, but oh how critical, he had all an artist's satisfaction, and all a discoverer's triumph.

At first reading nobody thinks of the history so deftly insinuated. It is more like going to the theatre for the premiere of a new play: Of the stars, none interest us more intensely than the one woman in the company, Florence Nightingale. Her associates on Mr. Strachey's carefully set stage are Cardinal Manning, Dr. Arnold and General Gordon. A woman of action, classed with men of action, her high achievements weighed against (and oh how far outweighing) her petty failings.

The Cook Biography gave us some six years ago the first inkling we had ever been permitted to have of Florence Nightingale as a genuine woman, not the legendary lady of Longfellow's lamp, though carrying the lamp did make a tiny part of her immense work of life-saving and health giving. But what Mr. Strachey has done with every one of his subjects, but notably in the case of Miss Nightingale, is to condense and to interpret, to present his story with a vivacity and an intimacy that is almost overpowering. He tells how Florence's mother moaned with tears in her eyes "We are ducks, who have hatched a wild swan." "No," he retorts, "the poor lady was wrong, it was not a swan they had hatched, it was an eagle." That is the kind of comment, terse, enlightening and interpretative, that clinches almost every passage.

She went out to the Crimean army, nominally as lady superintendent, with nurses whose services she was to furnish when they were asked for, and was presently performing all the functions of an administrative chief. "It was not by gentle sweetness and womanly self-abnegation that she brought order out of chaos in the military hospitals, and spread her dominion over the serried and reluctant powers of the official world. It was by strict method, by stern discipline, by rigid attention to detail, by the fixed determination of an indomitable will," although she could use consummate tact too (when she had to). It was she who fed the British army, and clothed the British army, provided bedding and disinfectants for it, found it in tooth brushes and postage stamps, and playing cards and savings accounts, did everything in short for the British army except give it birth.

Although she became a semi-invalid as the result of her incredible exertions, for the remaining fifty years of her life, spent in London, she worked far harder than most cabinet ministers. Her life-work began when most people think it ended. It was during these years that she helped to create the profession of the nurse, and was able to make those immense contributions to both military and civilian sanitation, that made her an authority all over Europe and the United States. She did this though still hampered by the most disabling fact of all, being a woman. Queen Victoria muttered "What a head, I wish we had her at the War Office." Yet being a woman, no one even suggested the possibility of her being a member of the Royal Commission to enquire into the medical (mal-) administration of the army. Being a woman, and a Victorian century woman, she could not even give oral evidence, but had to coach her friend, Sidney Herbert, the Minister of War, in private, and content herself with answering in writing a number of written questions.

In her seclusion, she continued to exert all the powers of organization, which she possessed in so unique a degree, but in such cramped environment, not always without friction. She was waited on hand and foot by several women and by many men. A very demon of work possessed her, and in putting forth and often bringing to success her plans for reform, she gave no one else any peace, her friends least of all. These were but the defects of her qualities. They were splendid qualities, and to them the whole world today is debtor.—A. H.

Comments of the Press

A New Duty

BEFORE the election of Senator Butler he permitted an implied pledge to be circulated that he would oppose woman suffrage should it become a legislative question during his term of office. Senator Butler has kept that faith and voted against the measure reluctantly when it came up. In a measure at least his obligation has been discharged and we believe that he can safely, conscientiously, and in equally good faith change his mind now, withdraw his declaration and cast his support and vote on the side of right. He has Hon. Woodrow Wilson, President of these United States and party leader as his precedent. Mr. Wilson actively fought suffrage and today there is not a more ardent supporter than he. Senator Butler has a grave responsibility. He is studying the question and we believe he will be able to conclude and decide in favor of God, home and native land. If he does the friends of equal suffrage and the cause itself will be blessed. The people of Madison County will applaud and endorse Senator Butler's support and vote for suffrage. Anything else would be an insult to his intelligence. The minor exception only would include those who always oppose progressive measures. Let Senator Butler do his Christian duty. —Huntsville, Ala., Daily Times, Aug. 10, 1919.

The Influence of Women

THAT congressmen are already recognizing that with woman suffrage almost attained the women are taking a more than ordinary interest in public affairs in view of the expectation that they will soon have a voice in the government is plainly shown by the fact that they are declaring that these new political forces must be reckoned with particularly in matters affecting the home. Just now these men are appreciating the fact that the women will not be as patient as men have been with failure by Congress to solve the problem of the high cost of living and with the delay in giving close and serious attention to that subject.

In this belief the congressmen are absolutely right. There are many indications that when the women are able to exert the power of citizenship through the ballot they will not swallow excuses and accept illogical reasons for inactivity concerning the great problems affecting living conditions as the men do. In that situation lies one of the soundest grounds for confidence that the government will soon be forced to take up this subject in no uncertain way, and also one of the most forceful arguments for the ratification of the federal suffrage amendment by the states.—Pawtucket, R. I., Times, August 1, 1919.

Extra Session Appears Certain

WITH an early call for an extra session of the legislature expected, several out of town members have arrived in Denver to get in touch with the probable program that will be considered by the lawmakers. It is expected Governor Shoup may include the high cost of living, the state constabulary investigation, blue sky legislation and other matters in addition to woman suffrage ratification in the call.—Denver, Colo., Telegram, August 7, 1919.

Woman Suffrage In 1920

WHILE it is not yet certain that the women of the United States as a whole will be permitted to vote for President next year, the outlook is fair.

In order to enact the Federal woman suffrage amendment, the affirmative action of thirty-six states is necessary. Already twelve have taken such action—Massachusetts, New York, Pensnylvania, Arkansas, Texas, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri and Kansas; while three have rejected the amendment—Georgia, Florida and New Mexico.

"Yes Ma'am"

NOW YOU PACK YOUR COLLARS AND PAJAMAS AND GO DOWN TO SALEM AND RATIFY THAT SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT!
WOMEN'S VOTES
STATE LEGISLATOR
I DARE YOU TO START SOMETHING
PERRY

Portland Oregonian, August 6, 1919

Governor Bartlett of New Hampshire, wishing to find out whether, if he called a special session of the legislature in his state, enough other governors would do likewise "to make reasonably sure that our efforts would not be wasted," sent out a general telegraphic inquiry. Seventeen governors have answered that they will call special sessions, provided a sufficient number of others will do the same, while five states will have regular sessiosn in time. This makes a total of thirty-four states which, to use Governor's Bartlett's language, "are either favorable or hopeful; at least possible." Six others are still to be heard from, of which two, Idaho and Nevada, are said to be favorable, "while there are possibilities in others." The governor concludes that "this furnishes a situation where it would seem to me that New Hampshire ought to join the movement."

Friends of the cause should keep up their efforts. If the amendment is adopted in season for the next national election it will be through persistent and intelligent work.—Providence, R. I., Journal, July 31, 1919.

Members Securing Suffragist Subscriptions From August 7 to August 20, 1919

Mrs. Ruth Martin, Harlan, Md.	1
Mrs. St. Clair Thompson, N. C.	1
F. W. Faxon Company, Mass.	1
Mrs. A. R. Colvin, Minn.	1
Miss Sara P. Grogan, D. C.	1
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Mrs. F. A. Kingsley, Minn.	2
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Suffrage in the South

OPPONENTS of the measure have for some time been claiming that the defeat of ratification in the South was absolutely certain.

It is probable that if the suffrage amendment were before the South Carolina General Assembly, as it will be next winter, and President Wilson were to send Governor Cooper a message urging that the amendment be ratified, the effect on members of the legislature would not be a slight one by any means. The South has taken great pride in the consistency with which it has followed President Wilson and the masses of the Southern people, taken as individuals, are ready on most points to accept the word and advice of Woodrow Wilson, the South's own President. The South knows that Wilson knows its conditions and its problems and it has enough confidence in him to feel that he would not recommend to it any measure not for its good. Therefore, it is probable that by taking up the cudgels for the woman suffrage amendment in the Southern states President Wilson will do a great deal to hasten its ratification.

As a matter of fact, though, is there so much opposition to suffrage in the South as some people pretend? Some time ago the Evening Post expressed the opinion that there was not and nothing has happened since to change this opinion. Opponents of suffrage may have the greatest surprise of their entire hopeless struggle against the inevitable by seeing the majority of the Southern states, their last reliance, accept the amendment with hardly a fight. —Charleston, S. C., Post, July 18, 1919.

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